

Message Text

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SUBJECT: NATOMIN: SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON AGENDA
ITEMS -- ATLANTIC RELATIONS

1. THIS MESSAGE BEGINS THE TRANSMISSION OF A SERIES OF
SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR USE IN ADDRESSING THE
PRINCIPAL AGENDA ITEMS TO BE DISCUSSED AT THE NATO MINIS-
TERIAL IN OTTAWA--I.E. ATLANTIC RELATIONS, CSCE, MBFR, AND
THE MEDITERRANEAN (WHICH WILL ALSO INCLUDE DISCUSSION ON
THE MIDDLE EAST). WE HAVE PREPARED THESE TALKING POINTS
WHILE BEARING IN MIND THAT THE OTTAWA MEETING WILL UTILIZE
A NEW FORMAT, WHICH YOU FAVORED, DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE MORE
FOCUSED EXCHANGES BASED ON AGENDA TOPICS, RATHER THAN SET-
PIECE STATEMENTS BY MINISTERS. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO CAST
THEM IN A MANNER ENABLING YOU TO TAKE THE LEAD IN NAC
DISCUSSIONS, WHICH MAY FIND SOME MINISTERS ILL-AT-EASE WITH
THE NEW, LESS FORMAL STRUCTURE. HARTMAN WILL BRING COMPLETE
UPDATED TEXTS OF ISSUES AND TALKING POINTS PAPERS ON THESE
ITEMS, AS WELL AS REVISED BACKGROUND AND BILATERAL PAPERS

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FOR INSERTION IN YOUR BRIEFING BOOK. WE ARE ALSO SENDING

BY CABLE IN THIS SERIES THE REVISED OBJECTIVES PAPER FOR THE NATO MEETING.

2. THE FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON "ATLANTIC RELATIONS:"

-- WE FACE AT THIS MINISTERIAL A "NEW MOMENT," A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS VITAL TO PRESERVING OUR VALUES AND OUR SECURITY OVER THE NEXT QUARTER CENTURY AS IT HAS BEEN OVER THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE DIRECTION AND PACE OF RECENT EFFORTS IN THE ALLIANCE TO GIVE MORE MEANINGFUL DIMENSIONS TO OUR PARTNERSHIP AT A TIME WHEN MOST OF OUR GOVERNMENTS, MANY UNDER NEW LEADERSHIP, MUST DEAL WITH HEAVY ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRESSES.

-- OUR SUCCESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A NATO DECLARATION WILL REFLECT, I BELIEVE, THE DURABILITY OF OUR SHARED OBJECTIVES AND THE REALIZATION THAT THE INTIMACY OF OUR RELATIONSHIP MUST BE PRESERVED AS WE CONFRONT THE CHALLENGES OF THE YEARS AHEAD.

-- THERE HAS BEEN SO MUCH DEBATE IN RECENT MONTHS THAT WE SOMETIMES FORGET WHY THE DEBATE STARTED. THE DEBATE WAS NOT THE RESULT OF A DISAGREEMENT ABOUT OBJECTIVES BUT THE CONSEQUENCE OF AN ATTEMPT BY THE UNITED STATES TO FIND A NEW BASIS FOR THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP.

-- WHEN THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME TO PROPOSE LAST APRIL THAT EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES STRIVE TOGETHER TO REINVIGORATE OUR PARTNERSHIP, HE DID SO BECAUSE HE WAS CONVINCED THAT ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP NEEDED TO BE RECONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHANGES THAT HAD OCCURRED.

-- A SITUATION OF NEAR NUCLEAR PARITY RAISED NEW PROBLEMS OF DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE WHICH WE MUST FACE TOGETHER TO ASSURE THE CONTINUED STRENGTH OF THE ALLIED DEFENSIVE POSTURE.

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-- AT THE SAME TIME, WE CONFRONT NEW CHALLENGES, AS ALLIES, AS WE MOVE ALONG THE PATH OF DETENTE.

-- WITHOUT NATO, NONE OF US COULD HAVE MOVED WITH ASSURANCE IN THE DELICATE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST LEADING TO GREATER STABILITY WITHOUT ANY DIMINUTION OF OUR COMMON SECURITY.

-- BUT THERE EXISTED A DANGER THAT THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP, WHICH FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS HAD ENSURED PEACE FOR OUR PEOPLES, WOULD GRADUALLY ATROPHY. WE BELIEVED THAT WE NEEDED TO REMIND A NEW GENERATION OF THEIR HERITAGE AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES, FOR SO MANY NOW ASSUMING POSITIONS OF IMPORTANCE IN OUR COUNTRIES HAVE HAD NO

PERSONAL MEMORY OF THE PROXIMATE DANGERS WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO THE ALLIANCE AND HAVE HAD NO EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO ITS HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OVER THE YEARS.

-- THE DEBATE DURING THIS PAST YEAR HAS NOT BEEN ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF OUR ASPIRATIONS. IT HAS BEEN ABOUT HOW TO MAKE THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP AS VITAL IN THE FUTURE AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST. AS A RESULT OF THAT DEBATE, WE HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF HOW MUCH UNITY WE WANT AND HOW MUCH DIVERSITY WE CAN STAND. WE BELIEVE THAT THE DIALOGUE HAS BEEN SALUTARY, FOR WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DISCUSS WITH EACH OTHER OUR PERCEPTIONS OF RECENT TRENDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE ALLIANCE.

-- WE ARE ALL AWARE THAT THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR--THE MIDDLE EAST WAR, THE ENERGY CRISIS, GOVERNMENTS UNDER SEVERE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRESS--AND THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH HAVE ARISEN MADE THE TASK MORE COMPLEX THAN WE EXPECTED. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, NEVER REGARDED THE DECLARATION AS A DRAFTING EXERCISE OR AS AN EFFORT TO PAPER OVER DIFFERENCES.

-- BUT NOW WE CAN SEE BEFORE US A NEW ROAD, A NEW SPIRIT BECKONS. WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE NATO DECLARATION AS IT HAS EMERGED AFTER SO MANY MONTHS OF DISCUSSION. WE ARE GRATEFUL TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FOR ITS BASIC DRAFT
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WHICH HELPED SO MUCH TO DEFINE THE BASIC ISSUES AND TO FOCUS DISCUSSIONS. THE UNITED KINGDOM MADE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION IN PROVIDING A COMPREHENSIVE REVISED TEXT OPENING THE WAY TO AGREEMENT ON A FINAL TEXT.

-- THE DECLARATION REASSERTS AND RESTATES THE FUNDAMENTAL PRECEPTS WHICH HAVE GUIDED THE ALLIANCE FOR 25 YEARS AND WHICH HOPEFULLY CAN NOW GUIDE IT FOR ANOTHER GENERATION. WE HOPE THAT IT WILL SYMBOLIZE A PERIOD OF CREATIVITY IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND WILL NOT ONLY COMMEMORATE THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALLIANCE BUT ALSO REINFORCE PUBLIC APPRECIATION OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE FOR THE FUTURE.

-- RECENT EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE EMPHASIZED THE

OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE OF THE ARAB WORLD AND THE MEDITERRANEAN TO ALLIED INTERESTS AND HAVE UNDERLINED THE NEED TO GIVE CLOSER ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE AREA COVERED BY THE TREATY. WE WELCOME THE STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT IN THE DECLARATION.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, IT HAS BECOME CLEARER THAN EVER THAT

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES INTERSECT WITH OUR SECURITY CONCERNS. THEREFORE, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ALL THESE FACTORS REALISTICALLY, AS THE DECLARATION SUGGESTS.

-- THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE RENEWED COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS. THE CONSULTATIONS WITHIN NATO ON CSCE, MBFR AND SALT WERE, I BELIEVE, EXCELLENT EXAMPLES OF EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION ON SECURITY ISSUES. WE ARE READY TO JOIN IN EVEN CLOSER CONSULTATIONS ON THESE AND OTHER ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

-- WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST REINFORCED NAC SESSION ATTENDED BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS FROM CAPITALS. WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN HOLDING ADDITIONAL MEETINGS OF THIS KIND IN WHICH WE MIGHT ADDRESS ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE REPORTS OF THE NATO REGIONAL AND OTHER EXPERTS GROUPS
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PREPARED IN THEIR SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS. WE WILL REMAIN READY, OF COURSE, TO CONSIDER FURTHER SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING IMPROVED ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATIONS, PARTICULARLY WHERE SUCH CONSULTATION WOULD PERMIT US TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT EACH OTHER'S VIEWS BEFORE DECISIONS ARE TAKEN.

-- AS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE NINE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THE UNITED STATES WANTS A STRONG EUROPE AND HAS ALWAYS FAVORED A UNITED EUROPE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A UNITED EUROPE WILL NOT ALWAYS AGREE WITH US AND WILL SEEK ITS OWN IDENTITY. WE WOULD NOT WISH TO TRANSFORM A EUROPE OF NINE INTO AN ORGANIZATION OF TEN. THE EMERGING ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONDUCTING DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE UNITED STATES PROMISE TO ALLOW US TO TAKE EACH OTHER'S VIEWS MORE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT BEFORE DECISIONS ARE TAKEN AFFECTING OUR INTERESTS, AND WE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE STEPS TAKEN TO PUT THESE ARRANGEMENTS INTO PRACTICE. IN MATTERS TOUCHING ON OUR VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS, THERE CAN BE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR FULL AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS IN NATO.

-- LET US THEREFORE RESOLVE AT THIS MEETING TO INFUSE OUR

EFFORTS WITH A NEW SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

-- IN THAT SPIRIT, WE HAVE FAVORED A NAC MEETING AT HEADS
OF GOVERNMENT LEVEL IN BRUSSELS WHERE THE PRESIDENT COULD
MEET WITH HIS COLLEAGUES, PARTICIPATE IN A REVIEW OF EAST-
WEST RELATIONS BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH GENERAL SECRETARY
BREZHNEV, AND JOIN IN SIGNING THE NATO DECLARATION. SUCH
A MEETING WILL UNDERSCORE OUR INTENT TO INITIATE A NEW ERA
OF VITALITY AMONG THE FREE PEOPLE OF THE ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY. SISCO

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